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*Notes on a Few Inscriptions.*—By CHARLES C. TORREY,  
Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

A. On “Ereṣ Rešūf” in the Bod-‘Aštart Inscription.



SOME time ago, in an article published in this Journal (vol. xxiii, pp. 164 f.; cf. xxiv, 215), I expressed the opinion that the three terms צִדֹן ים “Sidon-by-the-Sea”, שָׁמַם רִמֹם “High-Heavens”, and אֶרֶץ רִשָּׁף “the Rešūf (or Rešef) District”, in the royal inscription found on the stones of the great temple of Ešmūn recently excavated near Sidon, were used to designate respectively the Sidonian promontory (where the city now stands); the hill district on the east, running north as far as the Auwaly river; and the long strip of plain between the two. How far southward the “Rešūf land” may have extended, I did not attempt to decide, though expressing a doubt as to whether it included the open district south of the city, where is found at the present day the extensive complex of tomb caverns cut in the rock, called by the natives *Maghāret Ablūn*, or “Grotto of Apollo”; though why it should have been given his name has always been a riddle.

It has recently occurred to me that this last-mentioned name is really the modern survival of the old Phoenician אֶרֶץ רִשָּׁף. The god Rešūf (or Rešef) was the Semitic equivalent of the Greek Apollo, both in Phoenicia and in Egypt, as every one knows. The two were commonly identified in ancient times. The district which had been so long called by the name of the Phoenician deity was styled the “Apollo district” during the centuries of Graeco-Roman occupation of the land. At last, when the only distinctive thing left in the region was the necropolis, the name of Apollo still clung to this. An interesting parallel to the survival is found in the name of the ruin Arsūf,

أرسوف, on the coast a few hours north of Jaffa. This is the Ἀπολλωνία of the Greek geographers, as is well known. In this case, as in very many others, the old Semitic name held its place so tenaciously as even to outlast the Greek substitute.

This identification, while it does not enable us to locate definitely the three main districts of ancient Sidon, does at least give us another fixed point. "Sidon-on-the-Sea" was the cape, the site of the oldest settlement and of the citadel. "High-Heavens" extended to the extreme *northern* limit of the Sidonian territory, for the temple of Ešmūn on the mountain slope above the Auwaly river is the same one which is designated in the Ešmunazar inscription, line 17, as situated "in 'Mighty-Heavens' (שָׁמַם אֲדָרַם), in the mountain," as I have shown elsewhere (*ibid.*, xxiii, 167; xxiv, 214f.)<sup>1</sup> The "Rešūf-Land" included at least a part of the plain on the *south*. This suggests the possibility that the principle of division between the two inland districts was simply the geographical one, the territory on the south being given one specific name, and that on the north another.

#### B. The "Ankh" Symbol on Hebrew Seals.

When I published the old Hebrew seal of Joshua ben Asaiah, in vol. xxiv of this Journal, pp. 205 f., I was unable to explain the origin of the ornamental device  which appears between the two lines of the inscription. I see now, however, that it is merely an adaptation of a twofold *ankh* sign , the Egyptian symbol of life.

The magical power of this symbol, as is well known, was in high repute in Asia as well as in Egypt. It appears again and

<sup>1</sup> It is very much to be desired that the well which I have identified (*ibid.*, xxiii, 167f.) with the עֵין יִרְלֵל of the Ešmunazar inscription, situated on the hillside near the temple of Ešmūn, together with the ancient and important aqueduct to whose water it gives access, should be thoroughly investigated. The aqueduct brings the water of the Auwaly river to the gardens of Sidon, and is apparently of ancient construction. If the identification just mentioned is correct, it then follows that the aqueduct is at least as old as the Ešmunazar dynasty; and the probability would be strong that the ease with which its water could be reached at this point was one of the two chief considerations which led to the choice of this site for the temple, the other being the fine situation on the hill with the view toward the east. See also the remarks of Macridy-Bey, *Le Temple d' Echmoun à Sidon* (1904), pp. 37 f., cf. p. 16, who believes the aqueduct to be of Phoenician origin.

again on Phoenician and Hittite cylinders, and even on Israelite seals it has not been unknown. The now celebrated seal of Šema', servant of Jeroboam, shows this device on either side of the lion in the center; not, however, carved in the stone, but painted on the surface—apparently by an afterthought on the part of the owner, who wished to give to the seal this added talismanic virtue. See the description by Kautzsch in the ZDPV., 1904, p. 3.

Another example of the same kind is furnished by the seal impressions on the clay contract tablet recently excavated at Gezer. The tablet, which is inscribed in the cuneiform characters, is stamped by the seal of one of the owners of the property, presumably a Hebrew, and on this seal the *ankh* sign holds a very conspicuous place. See the PEF. *Quarterly Statement* for July, 1904.

#### C. On Some Palmyrene Inscriptions.

I have recently received from Dr. Hans Spoer, of Jerusalem, photographs and squeezes of those much discussed Palmyrene inscriptions from Damascus which were originally published by Jaussen in the *Revue Biblique*, 1897, pp. 592 ff.; then by D. H. Müller in the *Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien*, vol. xvi (1898); then by Chabot in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 257 ff.; and which have been treated to some extent by several other scholars, see Lidzbarski's *Ephemeris*, I, 81, 212 f. It might seem hardly worth while to attempt to comment further on any of these inscriptions; however, some justification for these few added notes may be found in the fact that the former editors were obliged to rely solely upon squeezes, without the supplementary aid which photographs can give. I use, for convenience, the numbering of the inscriptions given in the *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*.

140. It is not a "buste de femme," but that of a bearded man.

143. May not the second name in line 3 be **أَعْيَنْقُ** **أَعْيَنْقُ**, diminutive of **أَعْيَنْقُ** rather than **أَعْيَلَم**? The name would not be a remarkable one, though I do not know that it has been found elsewhere. Both on the squeeze and in the photograph

the penultimate letter looks only like נ, and the last letter might of course be ק. I subjoin a facsimile of the inscription.



151. The name in line 5 is apparently ימי רצו. Both squeeze and photograph seem to indicate this rather than [מל] (of which it is very likely the contracted form).

152. There is no doubt as to the reading פתיחב. In all probability the ב, at least, owes its origin to the following חבל.

153. The name is בת שתנא, not שתנא alone. The squeeze makes this quite certain, and even in the photograph a part of the ב can be seen in the first line. The bust is that of a woman. The name in line 3 is of course ימלא. There seems to be no reason to suppose that any letters are missing in the last line; both squeeze and photograph indicate that the surface of the stone is uninjured here. Probably a proper name, פנא.

154. On the top of the curved object



(band

or hem of the robe?) which the woman holds in her hand are carved distinctly—as the squeeze shows—the words בת עלמא. Cf. No. 149, where the same words appear on the wand held by the man. Is there any significance in the choice of this place for the legend?

Müller, No. 14; cf. *Ephemeris* I, 81, 212. Not in the *Répertoire*. The name at the beginning of the last line

עדינא seems to be not ערילא (Müller), nor עדינא

(Chabot), nor עריכא (Lidzbarski), but עריבא. Elsewhere

(three times) in the inscription the **ב** has very nearly this same form.

Müller, No. 16 ; not in the *Répertoire*. In the fourth line, where Müller reads **ליו**, the letters seem to be **מלחא**. I give a facsimile of the whole inscription :

א צ א	צלמת
א צ כ ו	חליו
א צ א	ברת
א צ א	מלחא
א צ א	עתיכא
א צ א	חבל

The final **א** in the fourth line is certain, and the **מ** hardly to be doubted. The traces of the other letters seem sufficient to establish their identity. Cf. the proper name **מלחא** in Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 2136.

*Répertoire*, No. 721; *Ephemeris* II, 316. The inscription published by me in this Journal, xxv (1904), 320. The word **מצריתא** in the last line had no final **א**, either at the end of the line or elsewhere on the stone. The squeeze, supported by the photograph, seems conclusive on this point. Is it not the most likely supposition that the stone-cutter was interrupted before carving the **א**? It seems to me extremely improbable that anything else than **מצריתא** should have been intended. The suggestions made by Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris, ibid.*) are ingenious, but hardly plausible.

*Répertoire*, No. 743. Inscription published by Porter and Torrey in the AJSL, xxii, No. 8. Clermont-Ganneau is very probably right in conjecturing **עברעסותור** instead of **עברעכתון** in line 3. The squeeze does indeed seem to give the upper part of the fifth letter of the name as **ב** and not **ס**, but the paper contains a tangle of lines here. The final letter of the name

is faint, and might well have been intended for ך. In that case, the original, in Beirut, would probably show traces of the dot above, since in this inscription the letter ך is elsewhere thus pointed. It is likely that Professor Porter will be able to decide the question without difficulty.<sup>1</sup>

*Répertoire*, No. 746. Inscription published by Porter and Torrey, *ibid.*, No. 13. Chabot conjectures תימשא for the name in line 3. On the contrary, the squeeze, which is perfectly distinct, makes the reading תימעא certain.

#### D. A New Copy of the "High-Place" Inscription in Petra.

Through the kindness of Professor Francis Brown, Director of the American School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, I have received a copy and a squeeze of the Nabatean inscription which was discovered and copied by Mr. George Sverdrup in 1906, and published in Vol. xxviii of this Journal (1907), pp. 349-351. Professor Brown visited Petra in the spring of this year, 1908, remaining there several days. The squeeze was taken on May 8, and the copy was made three days later. Professor Brown's account of the inscription and its surroundings is as follows:

"We found it, after some search, by examining the rocks at the sides of the stairway (Hoskins' No. 1),<sup>2</sup> beginning at the top. Just west of the highest point of the hill a path runs down, northward, leading to the first distinguishable steps. There are, first, about 40 steps down toward the North; then a break; then about 36 steps down in the same direction; then a break; then 10 steps to the East, 7 to the North, 6 to the West. At the end of these last steps, on the left side, stands the rock wall which bears the inscription. The stairway then turns again to the North, with about 80 steps leading to an open rock platform. For one ascending from this platform, the

<sup>1</sup> A letter from Professor Porter, received since the above was printed, gives the desired information. He writes (June 20, 1908): "The final letter is clearly ך, as it has a dot above. The other character is doubtful, as the upper part is damaged. It may be a ך, though the downward stroke is straight and like that of a ך connected with the following character." The conjecture of Clermont-Ganneau is therefore correct.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to the *Biblical World* for May, 1906, p. 385. See this Journal, Vol. xxviii, p. 351.

inscription is immediately in front. The face of the rock has been artificially smoothed. At the bottom the smoothed surface is about 5.42 m. long, and near the top about 4.88 m. The height I estimated at about 5 m. A stout cedar tree grows out of the corner at the right (as one faces the inscription), and this, added to the overshadowing rocks, makes photographing difficult. We were not able to get the proper light for this purpose; it might sometimes be possible, in the early afternoon."

"The inscription is about 1.76 m. long. There is no trace of writing before the first **N**, nor does the rock appear to be worn away. If anything, the surface is slightly higher just at the right of this letter.<sup>1</sup> At the right of the second line, the rock is slightly flaked off, and the flaking extends downward, but is not very marked. A few cracks and natural lines run through the inscription, but these are mostly unimportant. The letters vary a good deal in size, and the first line runs upward toward the left. Each letter is made by a succession of little hollows, which run together and sometimes form quite continuous lines. The bottom of the cut is rounded. A row of these little hollows, quite separate from one another, divides the first line from the second, and there are traces of such a row beneath the second line also. Indications of a third line of writing are too vague to be reproduced."

"A small niche is cut in the face of the rock, .395 m. from the beginning of the first line. It is about .57 m. high and .45 m. wide. Its depth varies from about .18 m. at the right lower corner to about .08 m. at the left upper corner. There is no trace of any relief or other cutting within it. To the right of it the smoothed rock wall runs on about 1.4 m. to the corner. The bottom of the niche is about 1.5 m. from the rock platform below."

"The stairway, both above and below the inscription, is a very fine one. It is four or five meters wide (at one point a step measured 3.98 m., at another point, 4.63 m., etc.). The steps are deep; we measured one, .43 m.; their height varies a good deal; just above the inscription we measured two, .18 m. and .22 m. Below the inscription, in the long straight flight

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<sup>1</sup> Prof. Brown adds a note here: "There are *possibly* marks of a tool on the rock at this point, but it is very doubtful."

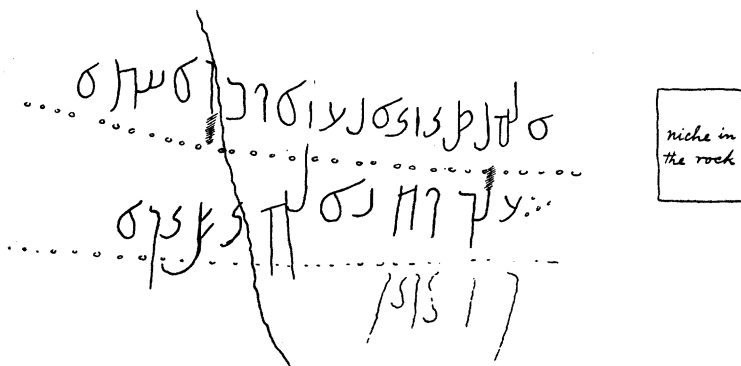


of about 88 steps, the average must be less, but these steps are badly weathered and many have disappeared."

"The gateway, of which Hoskins gives a photograph,<sup>1</sup> is a fine cutting, 3.80 m. wide. Immediately inside the entrance an oblong recess has been cut out on each side, apparently to receive the doors when opened. Each recess is 1.90 m. wide. The gateway, however, is far from the inscription."

"Dr. Hoskins exaggerates the difficulty of ascending by this stairway. Two of our party did it, and report only one difficult step in the whole ascent."

Thus far Professor Brown's description. His copy of the inscription gives the same letters as Mr. Sverdrup's, excepting that at the beginning of the second line he reads עבר (as I had conjectured) instead of עזר. He has been at some pains to show the actual appearance of the whole inscription, with the letters in their relative positions, and with the chief irregularities of the rock's surface indicated. His copy is therefore most helpful, while at the same time it bears witness in general to Mr. Sverdrup's accuracy.



The squeeze taken by Professor Brown he calls a poor one; still, it appears to reproduce the surface of the rock very well for the most part. It is not easy to recognize the remaining traces of the characters in the middle of the inscription, where the rock is presumably more worn away. At the extremities of the lines, on the contrary, the letters are very distinct.

<sup>1</sup> See the note above.

I give here a facsimile of the letters and parts of letters which I can recognize on the sheets of the impression sent me by Professor Brown. Relative distinctness has been indicated to some extent, and I have included those doubtful furrowings or hollowings in the paper which *might* represent portions of letters. In a few cases I have supplied in outline the missing part of a character, as will appear.

*First Line.*—The third letter is not **ב**, as I previously thought it must of necessity be, but is plainly a final **ה**.

The fourth letter might be either **ל** or **נ**. On the basis of Sverdrup's copy, one would choose the former; I have now no doubt, however, after seeing the actual form of the character and its separateness from the following, that **נ** is correct.

For the fifth letter, likewise ambiguous, **ז** now seems likely, rather than **ק**.

The traces of the letter just following this are indistinct. It is pretty certainly **י** (see the copies of Sverdrup and Brown), though I can see no trace of the top stroke.

The seventh letter is not **י**, as both Sverdrup and Brown make it; nor **ך**, as I myself formerly conjectured; but **ב**, as the squeeze appears to me to show with certainty. Whether the line which appears to continue the vertical stroke downward is a ligature connecting it with the preceding **ז**, or the result of an accidental abrasion of the rock, I cannot determine. But the curved bottom of the **ב** is quite distinct.

I have not been able to make out with certainty any letter of the word **אלעזר** which both copies give here. The indentations of the paper are few and faint. The traces which do appear, however, are well suited to the reading proposed, and the concurrent testimony of those who have seen the inscription itself must therefore be accepted.

Of the four letters next following, the first is **י**. The second, as given in the two copies, looks like **ב**; the squeeze, however, seems to show a well-cut curved line continuing the bottom stroke upward, nearly coinciding with the crack in the rock, but plainly distinct from it. This would make the letter a **ג**. The character which follows looks like a final **י**, but as Brown's copy shows, the lower part of the long vertical stroke is probably not original. What was intended, then, was presumably either **ך** or **ך**. This is followed by **ס**.

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a signature or name, written on a piece of paper with a horizontal fold line. The text is written in two lines, separated by the fold. The top line contains the characters "गुणवत्" (Guna-vat) and the bottom line contains "सर्वज्ञ" (Sarva-jña). The characters are written in a stylized, cursive manner.

The remaining letters of the line look like **בבתא**, but in all probability the true reading is **ביתא** (see below).

*Second Line.*—It is possible, as Brown remarks (see above), that one or more letters may be missing at the beginning of this line. The squeeze shows a single vertical furrow in which I cannot see any sure trace of the characteristic borings by which the letters are made. Possibly the relative pronoun **ר'ִ** stood here, but it is quite as likely that nothing is missing, and that the line originally began with **עבר**.

The five characters which follow **וה** are all more or less indistinct. Sverdrup and Brown both transcribe **באלהי**, and this reading is supported by the traces which are to be seen on the impression paper. The letter **ל** I should hardly have found at all if I had not had the two copies, and the seeming trace of its connection with the following **ה** is very doubtful. I have supplied in outline parts of both of these letters; the remaining traces of the **ה**, in particular, being quite certain, though far apart.

The third letter from the end of the line is given by the two copies as **'**, but the squeeze does not show the top stroke.

*Third Line.*—Professor Brown took no squeeze here, but saw faint traces of letters at the beginning, as well as a row of borings separating this line from the second. His copy suggests the **דכירין** which Sverdrup had surmised. Probably the line contained mention of others who were to be “remembered.”

I read, therefore:

**אלה נציבי אלעזא ומרא ביתא**  
**עבר והבאלהי שירא**

*These are the stelae of Al-‘Uzzā and Mārē Baitā, made by Wabullāhī the caravan-master(?).*

If this is the correct reading, the reference is probably to the stelae which stood in the sacred precinct at the top; for it is hardly likely that others were placed on the stairway, or on the platform just below this point, mentioned by Brown. We may suppose that there was no place for an inscription at the “high-place” itself, and that therefore the most convenient adjoining spot was chosen.

For the reading **מרא ביתא**, which of course suggests itself as soon as the letter **מ** is recognized, see especially the article by Professor Savignac, of Jerusalem, printed in the *Revue Biblique* for July, 1908. He publishes there a Nabatean inscription (previously published, less accurately, in the CIS., ii, 235) which contains this otherwise unknown divine title, and proposes also (p. 398) to read it in this Petra inscription, of which he had seen Brown's squeeze and copy. A letter from Professor Clermont-Ganneau, received by me in June, had already made the same suggestion. The only graphic difficulty is in the letter **'**, where the copies both read **ב**, and the squeeze gives exactly what I have reproduced, a character whose blurred upper part *might* be that of a **'**, as may be seen. What god this **מרא ביתא** might be, has thus far remained an unanswered question. I believe the name to be an appellation of **דושרא**, Dhu's-Šarā, since this was the tutelary deity of the Nabatean kings generally (hence "Lord of the House"?), as well as the god most frequently named in the inscriptions of Petra. The conjunction of **דושרא** with **אלעזא**, *the latter being named first*, may well remind us of the oft-quoted passage in Epiphanius which says that the god Dusares of Petra was worshipped as the offspring of a virgin goddess (generally identified with Allāt or Al-'Uzzā). See for example Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 218, 222; Dalman, *Petra*, pp. 49 ff.

As for the difficult word **שירא**, I have nothing to add to what was said in my former article. On the squeeze, the second letter looks like **ב**, no sign of the top stroke of **'** being visible.